

AN ITALIAN ROMANESQUE MANUSCRIPT OF HRABANUS MAURUS' *DE LAUDIBUS SANCTAE CRUCIS* AND THE GREGORIAN REFORM

LARRY AYRES

Ernst Kitzinger's publications have greatly contributed to our understanding of the artistic renewal that accompanied the Gregorian Reform in Italy. An aspect stressed in his investigations concerns the references and attachments that the monumental art of the time found in the monuments of the Early Christian past.¹ The reform ideology that promoted the idea of a return to the spiritual aura of the early Church also brought with it an increase in the production of illuminated manuscripts in Italy.² Behind this renewal in book production stood the reform of the religious life.³ This program of moral renewal and correct observance required not only service books for the

celebration of liturgical office but copies of canonical collections, and instructive exegetical works of the church fathers, including such works of moral example as Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*.⁴ A study of the growth of Italian Romanesque illumination reveals multiple sources and varied artistic traditions at work in the abundance of books that were produced in Italy to meet this end. Some artistic models employed by illuminators were retrospective and stemmed from centuries past, as revealed, for example, in the Carolingian ancestry of the Italian "geometrical" style of ornamental initial.⁵ Others were of more immediate descent or pedigree. The interest of this paper is to investigate an aspect of the latter and to observe how Italian illuminators of the Gregorian era turned to an Ottonian tradition at hand and adapted it to the precepts of a Mediterranean homeland.

¹E. Kitzinger, "The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 22 (1972), 87–102; idem, "The First Mosaic Decoration of Salerno Cathedral," *JÖB* 21 (1972), esp. 159 ff, rpr. in *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies by Ernst Kitzinger*, ed. W. E. Kleinbauer (Bloomington-London, 1976), esp. 281 ff; idem, "The Arts as Aspects of a Renaissance: Rome and Italy," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), esp. 638 ff.

²K. Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination* (Oslo, 1968), 19.

³J. Leclercq, "The Bible and the Gregorian Reform," *Concilium* 17 (1966), 65 ff; idem, "Usage et abus de la Bible au temps de la réforme grégorienne," in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, *Mediaevalia Iovaniensia*, 1st ser., Studia, VII (Louvain, 1979), 89 ff. See also the comments of G. Olsen: "... the origins of these reforms lay not merely in the desire for moral regeneration, but in the conscious wish to return to the antique, Biblical, patristic, and Roman models of Christian life represented by the early pre-feudal Church"; "The Idea of the *Ecclesia Primitiva* in the Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists," *Trad* 25 (1969), 61 ff. For the 11th-century Gregorian application of the idea of reform to the institution of the Church itself, see G. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 277 note 147, 400 ff, 423; and for a review of changes in the patterns of religious life, G. Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," *Renaissance and Renewal*, 37 ff.

⁴C. Nordenfalk, in A. Grabar and C. Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting* (Geneva, 1958), 146 ff; P. Brieger, "Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," *Studies in Church History* 2 (1965), 154 ff; I. S. Robinson, "The Metrical Commentary on Genesis of Donizo of Canossa," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 41 (1974), 12 ff. Some manuscripts of canonical collections may be associated with scriptoria that produced illuminated copies of the Vulgate and writings of the church fathers, and they will be considered in another study. For Italian Romanesque manuscripts of Burchard of Worms' *Decretum*, see the summary of H. Mordek: "Al tempo della Riforma gregoriana si ebbe in Italia una grande fioritura di raccolte canoniche interamente improntate allo spirito che animava il movimento rinnovatore della Chiesa"; H. Mordek, "Handschriften in Italien, I: Zur Überlieferung des Dekrets Bischof Burchards von Worms," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 51 (1971), 626 ff.

⁵Berg, *Studies*, 17–18; C. Nordenfalk, "Italian Romanesque Illumination," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), 401; L. M. Ayres, "The Bible of Henry IV and an Italian Romanesque Pandect in Florence," *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst, 800–1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mutherich* (Munich, 1985), 158 f, where the Carolingian antecedents of the "geometrical" initial style in Italian Romanesque illumination are discussed.

Our point of departure is an eleventh-century illuminated copy of Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis* in Vienna (Figs. 1–2, 5; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 908).⁶ The decorative program of the manuscript depends on a Carolingian illustration scheme.⁷ Its pages are adorned with figured or picture poems providing an artistic union of text and image, an idea that Hrabanus Maurus borrowed from the ancient tradition of the *carmen figuratum*.⁸ A glance at the figure of Christ in the Vienna volume (Fig. 1) shows that the more illusionistic approach to modeling found in the Carolingian exemplars of this work has been sacrificed for a more schematic Romanesque rendering. Likewise the ornamental initials of the Vienna manuscript (Figs. 2, 5) show a marked departure from Carolingian styles of lettering in the time of Hrabanus Maurus and find more apt comparison with the ornamental alphabets of the eleventh-century Ottonian schools of imperial Germany and their offshoots.

A twelfth-century ex libris in Vienna Cod. 908 indicates that the manuscript was by that time in the possession of Brevnov monastery in Prague, and H. J. Hermann attributed the volume to a German Romanesque scriptorium, "presumably Bohemian," active in the second half of the eleventh century.⁹ Hermann noted the vigor of the tendril movements found in the entangled rinceau growths that inhabit the ornamental initials of Cod. 908, and he associated these bulbed tendril patterns, which often terminate in trefoil petals, with the tradition of Reichenau illumination of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The fury expressed by the contours of these spurred tendrils in Cod. 908 may call to mind the spirited rinceaux found in products of the Ruodprecht group and in some members of the Liuthar group of Ottonian Reichenau, but Reichenau need not necessarily be identified as the direct source for the initial style of Cod. 908.¹⁰ It should be kept in mind that by the second half of the eleventh century the taste for ornamental initial styles featuring rinceau patterns

placed against multicolored backgrounds and tendril shoots intertwined with the skeleton of the script character had become widespread not only in imperial Germany but also in Italy.¹¹

Some of the closest stylistic analogies to the ornamental initials of the Vienna Hrabanus Maurus can be found in the rinceau initials that embellish pages of the Vulgate edition of the Italian Giant Bibles of the second half of the eleventh century. Indeed, many of the Italian Giant Bibles contain not only the so-called "geometrical" style of ornamental lettering which found its models in the Carolingian Bibles of Tours but also a developed Ottonianizing initial style of great power and beauty. A case in point is the "V" initial at Micah (Fig. 3) in a fragment of an Italian Giant Bible now in the Magliabechi Collection in Florence (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. C1.XL.I).¹² The fury or whirlpool action of the knotted tendrils in the Ottonianizing initials of this Italian Giant Bible bears ready comparison to the type of rinceau locomotion expressed in the Vienna version of Hrabanus Maurus' work. A similar turbulence or rotary impulse can be observed in the rinceaux of the "S" initial at the Third Epistle of St. John in the Palatine Bible (Fig. 4; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Pal. lat. 3–5).¹³ In comparing the design of this letter to that which opens chapter sixteen in Vienna Cod. 908 (Fig. 5), these "S" initials share another characteristic feature. The illuminator has

¹⁰For the place of this spirited initial style in Reichenau illumination, as represented, for example, in the Egbert Psalter, see the review by F. Mutherich, "Ausstattung und Schmuck der Handschrift," *Das Evangelium Ottos III. (Cm. 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München)*, *Begleitband der Faksimile-Ausgabe* (Munich, 1978), 72 ff.

¹¹For the influence of Reichenau initial style(s) at Echternach, see C. Nordenfalk, "Abbas Leofsinus: Ein Beispiel englischen Einflusses in der ottonischen Kunst," *ActaArch* 4 (1933), 49 ff; idem, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis: An Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh Century*, comm. vol. (Stockholm, 1971), 75 ff; and at Trier, J. M. Plotzek, "Zur Initialmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts in Trier und Köln," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973), 101 ff. For Italy see E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, I (Florence, 1953–54), 23 ff; Berg, *Studies*, 12, 20 f; Nordenfalk, "Italian Romanesque Illumination," 402. For the influence of a Regensburg initial style on the scriptorium at Monte Cassino, see H. Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *DOP* 3 (1946), 177 ff.

¹²Garrison, *Studies*, II (1955–56), 68; III (1957–58), 121, 166. Garrison proposed "a dating about 1100, and more probably a few years after than before, and an attribution to the Umbro-Roman region. . . ."

¹³L. M. Ayres, "A Fragment of a Romanesque Bible in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. ser. nov. 4236) and Its Salzburg Affiliations," *ZKunstg* 45 (1982), 139 f, cf. figs. 13, 14. For the Palatine Bible see Garrison, *Studies*, II (1955–56), 131 ff, and W. Berschin, in *Bibliotheca Palatina*, exhibition catalogue (Heidelberg, 1986), 133 f.

⁶H. J. Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien: Die deutschen romanischen Handschriften, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, VIII, ii (Leipzig, 1926), 38 ff, no. 27, figs. 18–21; K. Holter, *Liber de laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, Kommentarbd., *Codices Selecti XXXIII** (Graz, 1973), 27.

⁷Hermann, *Handschriften*, 39.

⁸For the illustration scheme see F. Mutherich, "Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei in der Zeit des Hrabanus Maurus," *Hrabanus Maurus und seine Schule: Festschrift der Rabanus-Maurus-Schule 1980*, ed. W. Böhne (Fulda, 1980), 94 ff.

⁹Hermann, *Handschriften*, 38–39.

in each case extended the coloring of the script character into a portion of the rinceau pattern and painted part of the vine stalk at the point where it springs from the base of the initial structure. By doing this, the illuminators link the inanimate form of the letter stalk with the animation of the rinceau patterns which themselves are rendered in reserve and often placed against multicolored grounds.

With these comparisons it is possible to seek the origin of this eleventh-century copy of *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis* in an Italian scriptorium that also executed illuminated volumes of the Vulgate. The attribution to Italy is also supported by paleographical considerations¹⁴ and by the text of Vienna Cod. 908 which belongs to a recension represented by other manuscripts of Italian origin.¹⁵ This Ottonianizing initial style represented on pages of Vienna Cod. 908 also enhances other manuscripts of patristic and exegetical works that were made in Italy in the era of the Gregorian Reform, but the vicissitudes of this decorative idiom are most readily discerned by studying its life in a series of Italian Giant Bibles.

A turning point in the development of the Ottonianizing initial style is observed in an Italian Giant Bible that carries a distinctive signature, MS San Pietro A.1 in the Vatican Library (Figs. 6, 13, 18).¹⁶ San Pietro A.1 is adorned with both "geometrical" and Ottonianizing initials. The "H" initial that opens the text of Deuteronomy (Fig. 6) bears characteristic marks of the Italian Ottonian-

izing rinceau tradition we have been discussing. The rinceau pattern is generated from two shoots that bolt or sprout from the stem of the script character. These bulbed tendrils then trace curved paths and knotted interlockings and terminate their journeys in trefoil petals or leaves. The rinceau style of San Pietro A.1, however, has a more fixed or confined character; it seems deprived of the organic vitality and energy, those assertive rhythms, that animate the ornamental fields of initials in Vienna Cod. 908. The rinceaux of San Pietro A.1 appear more locked into position, and the visual field takes on a more flat or carpeted effect.

Whereas the initials of San Pietro A.1 exhibit one tendency in the growth of the Ottonianizing style in Italy, another direction may be perceived in two initials in the Italian Giant Bible (Fig. 7) now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome (MS A.2).¹⁷ Here also we discover a reduction in furor and dynamic knotting when the rinceaux of the Vallicelliana manuscript are compared with those of the Vienna Hrabanus Maurus (cf. Figs. 2, 7), but this different interpretation in the Vallicelliana Bible is also imbued with a new spirit that expresses less tension and introduces a new gracefulness in movement. The "Q" initial at Lamentations in the Vallicelliana Bible (Fig. 7) signals an effort to create a balance between the curvatures and slopes of the script character and rinceaux. The rinceau knots appear less tightly bound, as if unlocked, and the overall effect is one of a more gentle blossoming of elements. The Ottonianizing style is now yielding and responding to forces brought about by its plantation and cultivation in a Mediterranean habitat. That the stylistic trends expressed in the rinceau initials of San Pietro A.1 and Vallicelliana A.2 coexisted within the same scriptorium may be claimed, moreover, in light of the close similarity of groups of "geometrical" initials in these volumes.

The gains fostered by the artists of the Vallicelliana Bible are given greater clarification by the illuminators of the initials of the Italian Giant Bible now in Perugia (Figs. 8, 11, 14, 16; Biblioteca Augusta, MS L.59), and this sharpened perception is paralleled by an improved, more upright script.¹⁸

¹⁴The author is indebted to Prof. Bernhard Bischoff for the attribution to Italy of the script of Cod. 908.

¹⁵H. G. Müller, *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis: Studien zur Überlieferung und Geistesgeschichte, Beiheft zum "Mittelateinischen Jahrbuch,"* 11, ed. K. Langosch (Rattingen, 1973), 37, 96–98, 108–9. The other manuscripts assigned by Müller to this group are: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatinus 3 (Berg, *Studies*, 61, 76, 248 f, figs. 436–38; F. Gurrieri, *Disegni nei manoscritti Laurenziani, Sec. X–XVII*, exhibition catalogue [Florence, 1979], 26, no. 5, fig. 5); Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, Cod. 134 (Garrison, *Studies*, III [1957–58], 288, 298); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Vit. 20–5 (A.73) (J. Prochno, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei*, I [Leipzig-Berlin, 1929], 12, 16; J. D. Bordona, *Manuscriptos con pinturas*, I [Madrid, 1933], 376–77, no. 931, fig. 319). Müller notes that within the group variant readings place the texts of Vienna Cod. 908 and Madrid A.73 closer to one another than to Monte Cassino Cod. 134 and Amiatinus 3.

¹⁶G. Mercati, "Per la storia dei codici di S. Pietro in Vaticano nei secoli XV e XVI," *ST* 75 (1938), 146; Garrison, *Studies*, I (1953–54), 67; F. DeMarco, "Censimento dei codici dei secoli X–XII," *SM* 11 (1970), 1101–3. In terms of the style of many of its "geometrical" initials, the decorative campaign of San Pietro A.1 finds a close relative in that of a copy of the *Moralia in Job* in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8833). For the Paris manuscript see F. Avril and Y. Zaluska, *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne*, I (Paris, 1980), 37–38, no. 63, pl. xxiii.

¹⁷Garrison, *Studies*, III (1957–58), 129 f, 166, 218; IV (1960–62), 162 note 4; M. C. Di Franco, "Censimento dei codici dei secoli X–XII," *SM* 11 (1970), 1013 f. Garrison suggested a date in the second quarter of the 12th century for Vallicelliana A.2.

¹⁸P. Toesca, "Miniature romane dei secoli XI e XII," *Rivista del Reale Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 1 (1929), 80 ff; G. Muzzioli in *Mostra Storica Nazionale della Miniatura*, exhibition catalogue, 2nd ed. (Florence, 1954), 89 f, no. 127; Garrison,

With the inclusion of a dedication page (with still unidentified lay donors) and the use of gold in several of its initials, the Perugia volume stands apart as something of a special commission among the Italian Giant Bibles. In this book the rinceau initials have adopted a more confident order which displays further departure from the Ottonianizing pedigree. A lyre-shaped leaf that juts out from the initial at Micah (Fig. 16) to underscore the "I" of the *Incipit* rubric nevertheless calls to mind the use of this element in the ornamental repertoire of Reichenau and Echternach illumination.¹⁹ The lyre-shaped leaf made its appearance also in Vallicelliana A.2 but not to the extent exhibited in the rinceaux of the Perugia Bible. The motif is absent in the three rinceau initials of San Pietro A.1, so it might be worth proposing that the stylistic shift in rinceau style in Vallicelliana A.2 and Perugia L.59 may have been encouraged by a fresh recourse to Ottonian models as well as to indigenous factors. The rinceau initials of the Perugia Bible may show family resemblances with those of the San Pietro (cf. Figs. 13, 14) and Vallicelliana Bibles, but in the final analysis the artistic sentiment expressed on pages of the Vallicelliana manuscript was the one taken up by the illuminators of the Perugia Bible as pointing the way of the future (cf. Figs. 7, 8).

The efforts made by the illuminators in the Perugia Bible to simulate more temperate, less restless rinceau patterns are paralleled by a more naturalistic approach in figural rendition. The depiction of the separation of light and darkness on the first day of Creation (Gen. 1:2–5) in miniatures of the Palatine and Perugia Bibles (Figs. 10, 11) belongs to the so-called "Roman" iconographical type, and this association must now also be considered in light of their reference to a common family tree in the matter of their Ottonianizing initial styles. The "Roman" iconographical type portrays the bust-length, beardless Creator in a semicircular heavenly expanse and accompanied by two angels and/or personifications of day and night in

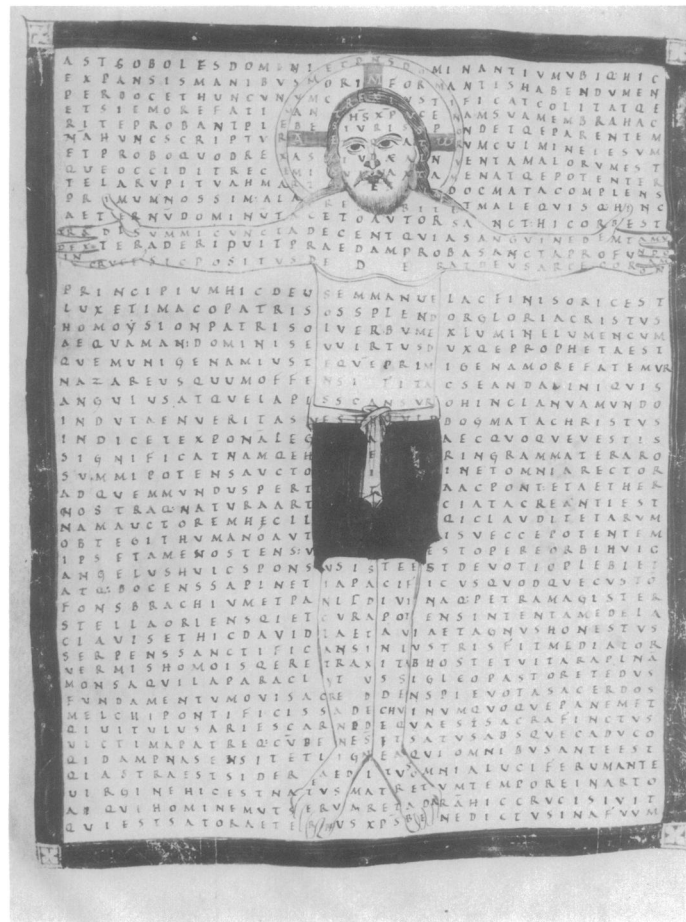
mandorlas.²⁰ This iconographical type, which portrays the first moments of Creation, is thought to have originated in monumental pictorial art and to descend from the Old Testament pictorial cycle that decorated the Early Christian basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome.²¹ Whereas the style of the Creator in the Palatine Bible (Fig. 10) does not venture much beyond surface values and linear concerns, that of the Creator in the Perugia volume (Fig. 11) reveals a new awakening to plastic values and pictorial detail. The image of the Creator in the Perugia version is endowed with an inner magnitude that steps beyond the boundaries or dimensions of the manuscript page. The visage of the Creator in the Perugia miniature is fashioned with a new sculpted sense, and the gesture of his right arm is rendered with a new sense of organic intelligibility. Whereas this style in the Perugia Bible embodying a bold revival of pictorial

²⁰Garrison, *Studies*, IV (1960–62), 148 ff, 201 ff; J. Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi: Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter*, Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik 13 (Stuttgart, 1979), 34 ff, 47 ff, 75 f, 121 f. The expansion of the pictorial program of the Perugia Bible (Fig. 11) to include each of the six days of Creation has been viewed as an integration of the "Roman" type with a narrative tradition; Garrison, *Studies*, IV (1960–62), 150 f, and J. van der Meulen, "Schöpfer, Schöpfung," *LCI* 4 (1972), col. 107. Garrison noted the interpolation of the Four Rivers of Paradise into the scene of the separation of light from darkness in the Perugia Bible. The appearance of the rivers (Gen. 2:10–14) may suggest recourse to a narrative cycle for Genesis (e.g., the late 11th-century Salerno ivory plaques where the rivers are depicted in the scene of the Creation of Eve; R. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* [Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1980], 20, fig. 5; later in the frescoes at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, Rome; Toesca, "Miniature romane," fig. 15). On the other hand, the inclusion of the rivers in the scene of the first moments of Creation may possibly have been inspired by their appearance in monumental apsidal compositions of theophany, an Early Christian tradition that was revived by mural painters in the era of reform (e.g., the apsidal painting by the Roman workshop at Castel S. Elia; P. Hoegger, *Die Fresken in der ehemaligen Abteikirche S. Elia bei Nepi: Ein Beitrag zur romanischen Wandmalerei Roms und seiner Umgebung* [Frauenfeld, 1975], 26 ff, figs. 3, 5). The Genesis frontispiece of the Palatine Bible (Fig. 10) shows evidence of later tampering. The halo of the Creator has been modified to a cross-nimbus and the triangular gap between the personifications presumably reflects the removal of the image of the dove of the Holy Spirit.

²¹J. Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters- und Pauls-Basiliken in Rom* (Berlin, 1918), esp. 8–9, 48–50, 52–54, fig. 2; A. Weis, "Der römische Schöpfungszyklus des 5. Jahrhunderts im Triclinium Neons zu Ravenna," *Tortulae: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*, RQ Supplementheft 30 (1966), 305–6; K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library Codex Cotton Ortho B.VI* (Princeton, 1986), 27. For the question of the restorations by Cavallini of the Old Testament cycle in the nave of S. Paolo, see J. Gardner, "S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Nicholas III and Pietro Cavallini," *ZKunstg* 34 (1971), 240 ff.

Studies, I (1953–54), 65; II (1955–56), 25, 185; III (1957–58), 89, 91, 98, 100, 128, 130, 139, 212, 216, 246 note I; IV (1960–62), 118, 120, 148 ff, 201 f, 205, 222; H. Kessler, "An Eleventh-Century Ivory Plaque from South Italy and the Cassinese Revival," *JBM* 8 (1966), 78–80; W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 287, no. 131. Garrison localized the Perugia Bible to Rome in the later second quarter of the 12th century.

¹⁹For the lyre-shaped leaf in Reichenau illumination, see Mutherich, *Evangelien Ottos III.*, 77; and at Echternach the motif may be found, for example, in the Gospel Lectionary (fol. 86r) now in Bremen (Universitätsbibliothek, MS B. 21).



1. Image of Christ in the form of the Cross, *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 908, fol. 9v (photo: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)



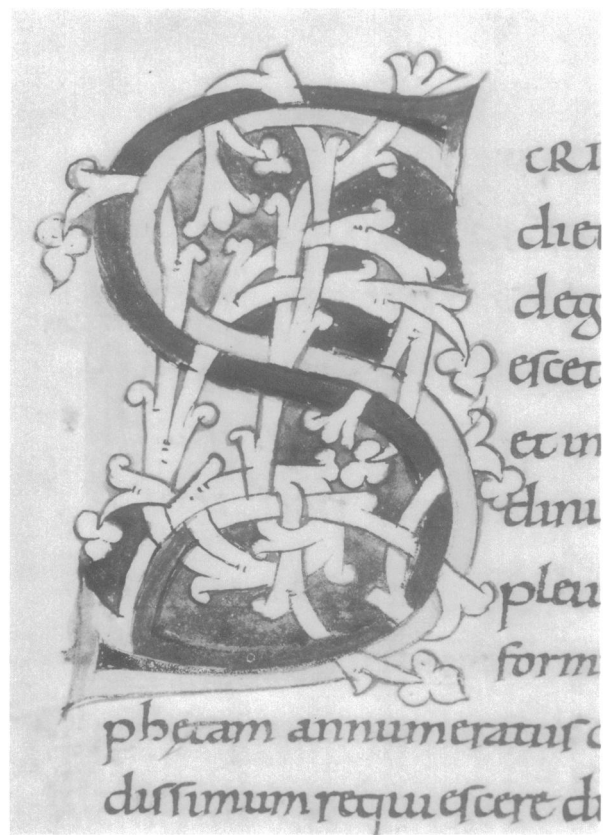
2. Initial "O" for dedication text, *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 908, fol. 4r (photo: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)



3. Initial "V" at Micah, Italian Giant Bible, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. Cl. XL.I, fol. 203r (photo: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale)



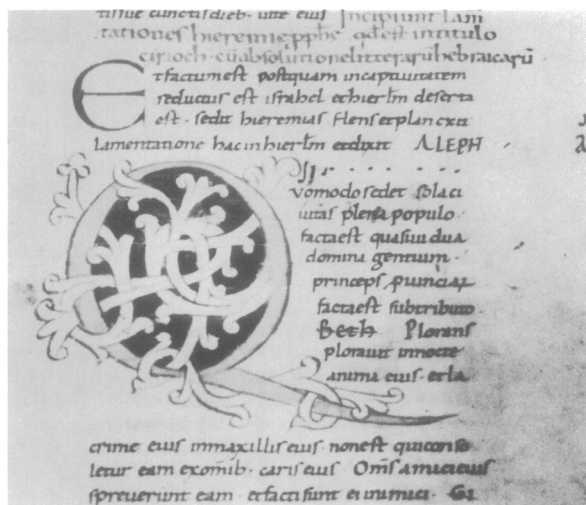
4. Initial "S" at Third Epistle of St. John, Palatine Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 5, fol. 17r (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



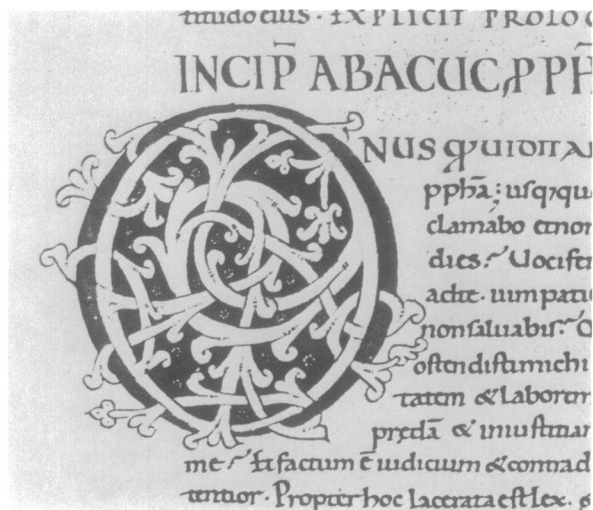
5. Initial "S" at Chapter XVI, *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 908, fol. 47r (photo: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)



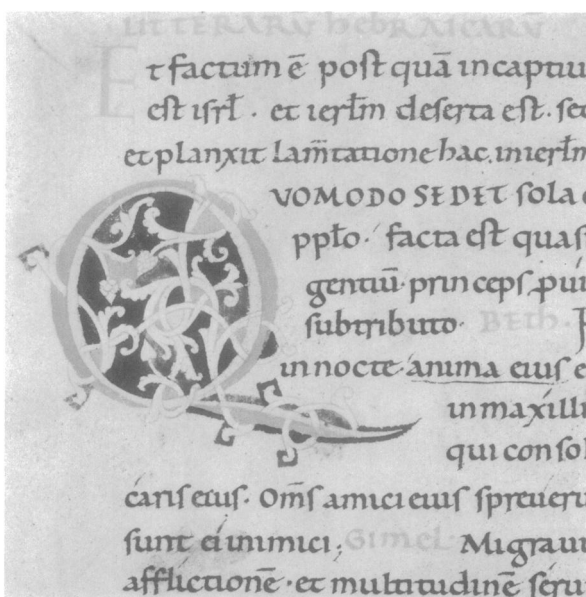
6. Initial "H" at Deuteronomy, San Pietro Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro A.1, fol. 60v (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



7. Initial "Q" at Lamentations, Vallicelliana Bible, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS A.2, fol. 250r (photo: Biblioteca Vallicelliana)



8. Initial "O" at Habakkuk, Perugia Bible, Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS L.59, fol. 223v (photo: Biblioteca Augusta)



9. Initial "Q" at Lamentations, Santa Cecilia Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 587, fol. 155v (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



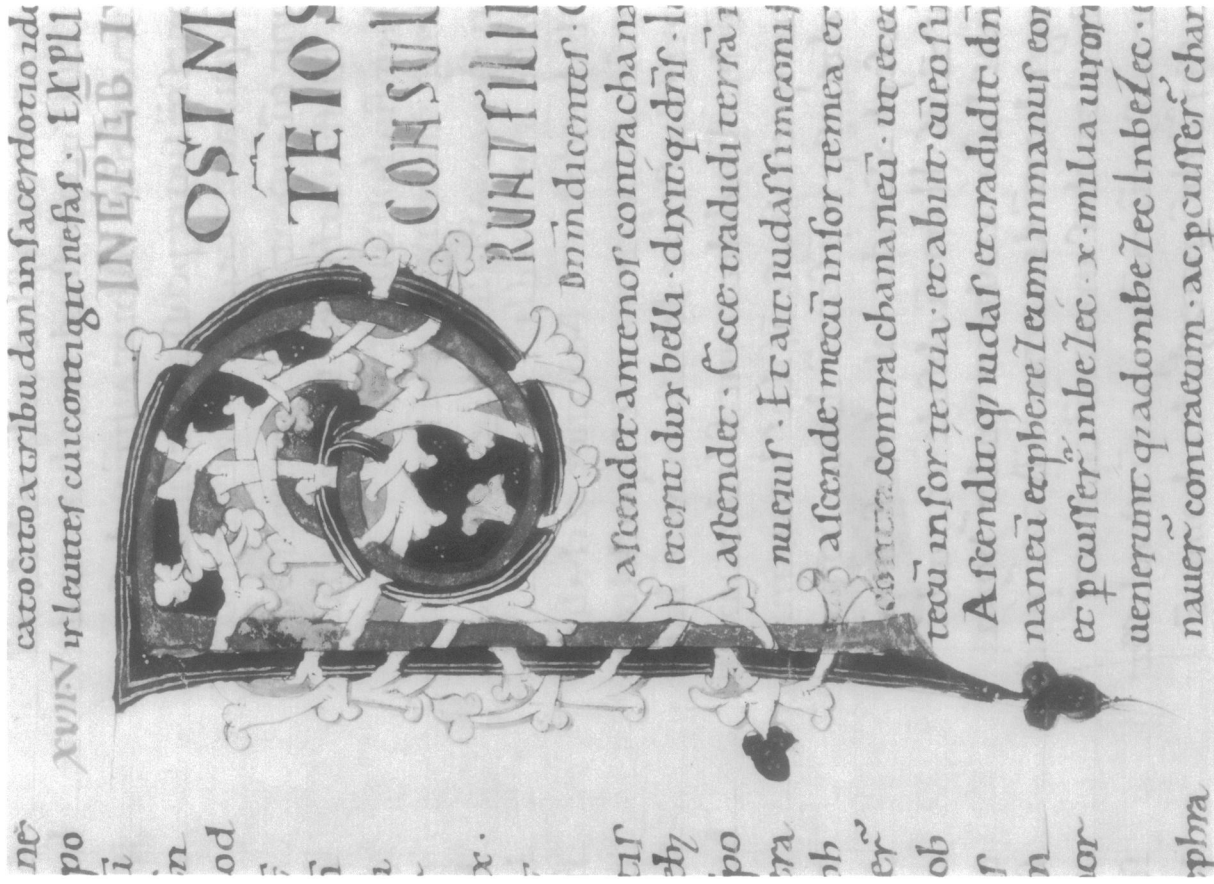
10. Genesis frontispiece, Palatine Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 3, fol. 5r (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



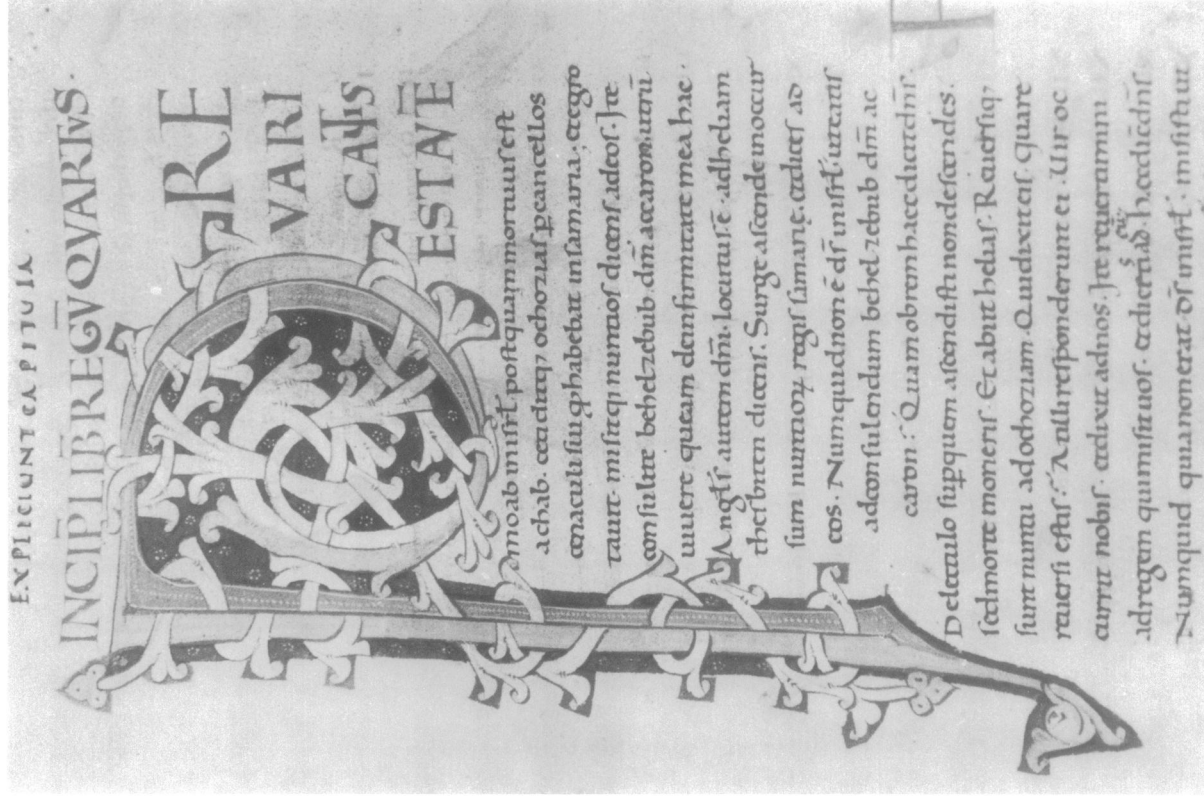
11. Genesis frontispiece (detail), Perugia Bible, Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS L.59, fol. 1r (photo: Biblioteca Augusta)



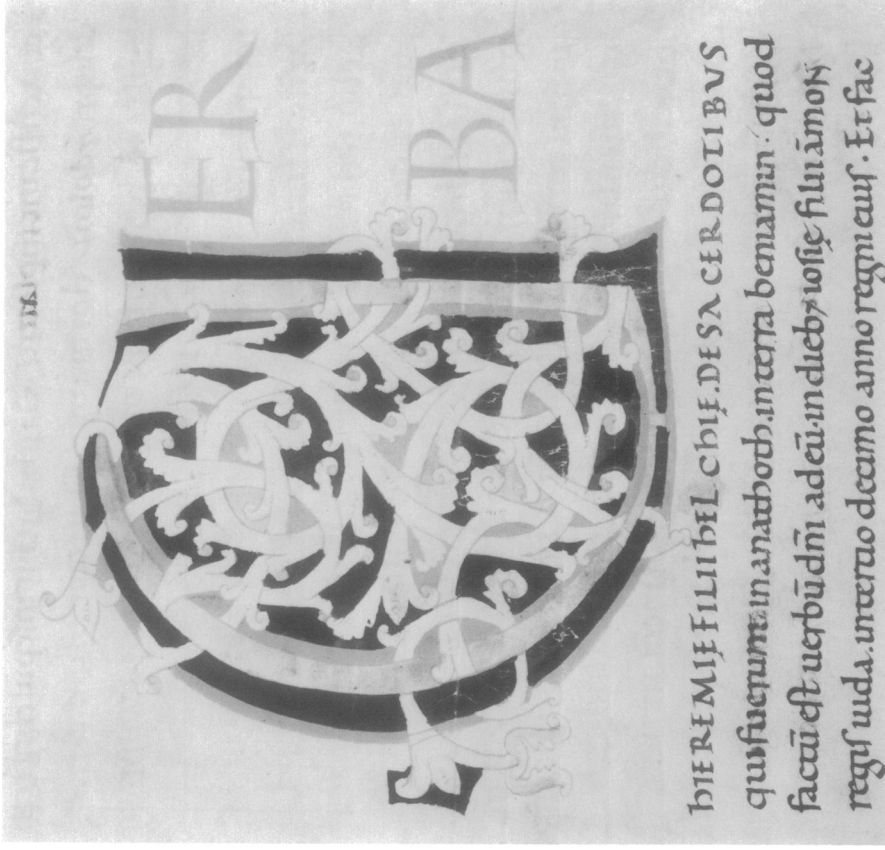
12. Genesis frontispiece (detail), Pantheon Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 12958, fol. 4v (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



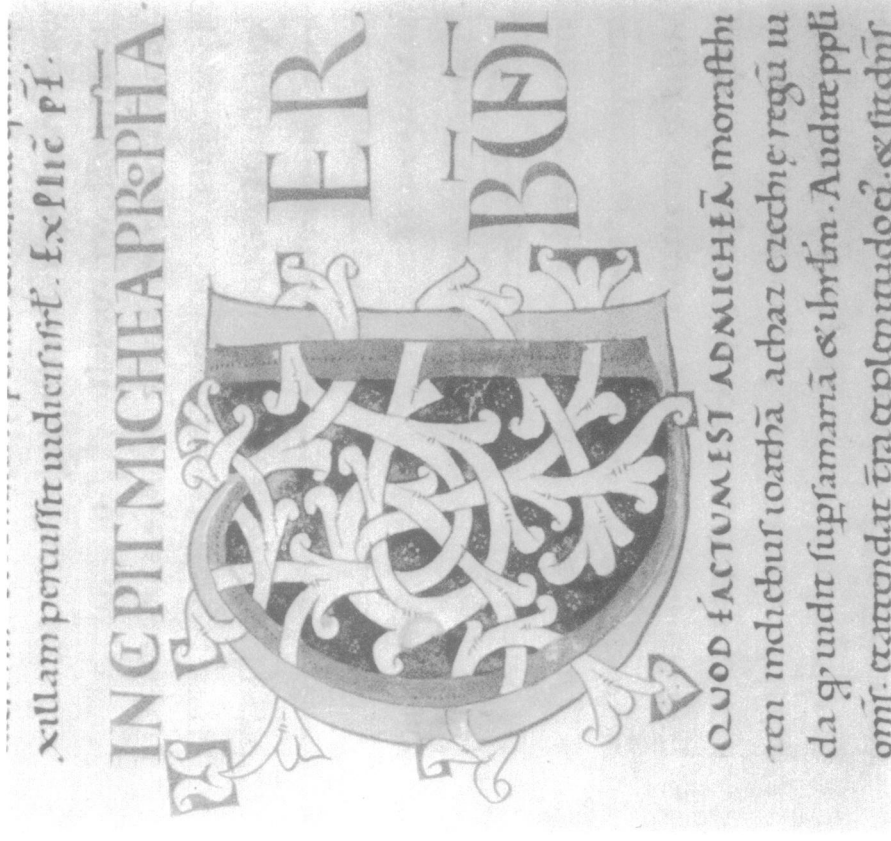
13. Initial "P" at Judges, San Pietro Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro A.1, fol. 82r (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



14. Initial "P" at IV Kings, Perugia Bible, Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS L.59, fol. 133v (photo: Biblioteca Augusta)



15. Initial "V" at Jeremiah, Santa Cecilia Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 587, fol. 136v (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



16. Initial "V" at Micah, Perugia Bible, Biblioteca Augusta, MS L.59, fol. 221r (photo: Biblioteca Augusta)



17. Initial "E" at Jonah, Santa Cecilia Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 587, fol. 185v (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



18. Initial "E" at Joshua, San Pietro Bible, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro A.1, fol. 73v (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

form may owe something to Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine sources, it must also be studied within the traditions of the classicizing trends of the Carolingian renewal and the Early Christian past.²²

It is indeed a giant step from the rinceau initials of the Perugia Bible to those of the Santa Cecilia Bible, a volume that antedates 1097 (Figs. 9, 15, 17; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 587).²³ In the initials of the Santa Cecilia Bible we have passed from Italian rinceau initials based on an Ottonianizing tradition to the world of the *bianchi girari*, the white-vine scrolls that are enriched with serrated profiling in leaf decor and display a vegetal fruition that grafts grape clusters and new blossom motifs onto the rinceau branches (Figs. 9, 17). Much work needs to be done in identifying the models and sources that were brought into play in the move from the Ottonianizing tradition to the decorative harvest of the *bianchi girari*, as seen in the most stylistically advanced initials of the Santa Cecilia Bible. Links with the previous phase may be sought in the comparison between the "V" initial at Micah in the Perugia Bible (Fig. 16) and that at Jeremiah in the Santa Cecilia Bible (Fig. 15). The Jeremiah initial reveals the persistence of a conservative manner, which still radiates hints of Ottonianizing robustness, within the scriptorium that illuminated the Santa Cecilia Bible. More modern and pervasive on pages of this magnificently adorned volume are the *bianchi girari* which provide a more uncluttered and delicate ornamental display. In the *bianchi girari* of the Santa Cecilia Bible (Figs. 9, 17) we encounter a miniaturization of the rinceau style, a new exactness, and an abundance of heart-shaped clusters of berries substituting for trefoil terminals. The naturalistic intrusion of grape or berry clusters among the rinceau branches and also the trend toward a more languid webbing of branches can already be perceived in the initial of an earlier Italian Romanesque manuscript of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 2213), a book whose ornamentation has on other grounds been connected to that of the Vallicelliana Bible

and the Bible of Henry IV.²⁴ Another indication of change is seen in an Italian Romanesque copy of Burchard of Worms' *Decretum* which contains a representation of the Tree of Consanguinity whose upper branches bifurcate into leafy terminals, one sprouting leaves with serrated contours and the other without (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 9630).²⁵ This volume, therefore, needs to be included in the investigations of the ornamental antecedents of the *bianchi girari*. Furthermore, the figurative style of the "First Man" in the *Decretum* miniature of the Tree of Consanguinity looks ahead to pictorial styles of illuminators of the Santa Cecilia Bible. The juxtaposition of the "E" initial that opens the text of Jonah in the Santa Cecilia Bible (Fig. 17) with that which opens the text of Joshua in the San Pietro Bible (Fig. 18) shows, in the general concept of design, that the ornamental lettering of the former is not without debt to the tradition represented by the latter. The rinceaux of the Santa Cecilia initial reveal a different staging of elements. They assume a more tempered manner and appear as if harmoniously draped or arranged over the script character. They may appear less knotted or charged than those of the San Pietro Bible, but they are in no way stagnant.

One feature of the San Pietro Bible may shed additional light on the ecclesiastical climate in which this Giant Bible was commissioned. The San Pietro Bible contains copies of three *tituli* of the famed Carolingian Bible of the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome.²⁶ These *tituli* are employed as prologues at Deuteronomy and Joshua in the San Pietro Bible, and their appearance is unique in this respect among the Italian Giant Bibles of the period. *Tituli* for the frontispieces of Numbers and Deuteronomy in the San Paolo Bible are combined and placed before the opening of the text of Deuteronomy in San Pietro A.1; that for Joshua before Joshua. Reference to the text of another portion of the San Paolo Bible may be found in an Italian Giant Bible of somewhat earlier vintage (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 588).²⁷ In the Barberini Bible a copy of the dedi-

²² On this point see the observations of Berg, *Studies*, 89. For the Carolingian dimension see the analysis of Toesca, "Miniature romane," 89 ff.

²³ Among the more recent studies, see Garrison, *Studies*, III (1957–58), 17 ff; K. Berg, "Notes on the Dates of Some Early Giant Bibles," *Acta IR Norv* 2 (1965), 167 ff; idem, *Studies*, esp. 15 f, 87 f; Ø. Hjort, "The Frescoes of Castel Sant'Elia: A Problem of Stylistic Attribution," *Hafnia: Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art* 1 (1970), 26 ff; Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, 287.

²⁴ Avril and Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés*, I, 38–39, pl. xxiv, and also the author's review in *Kunstchronik* 36 (1983), 240–41.

²⁵ Ibid., 39–40, pl. xxv.

²⁶ D. de Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1920), 20–21. For the *tituli*, see the contribution by Bernhard Bischoff in the commentary volume of the forthcoming facsimile edition of the San Paolo Bible.

²⁷ Garrison, *Studies*, III (1957–58), 284 f.

cation prologue of the scribe Ingobertus of the San Paolo Bible opens the text of the manuscript and prefaces St. Jerome's letter to Paulinus. We are, however, in the dark about the possible inclusion of the Ingobertus prologue in the San Pietro Bible because its first gathering has been lost.

The San Paolo Bible was produced for Charles the Bald (823–877), presumably at Reims, sometime between 870 and 875.²⁸ The manuscript is thought to have been brought to Rome by Charles the Bald as a gift to the pope at the time of Charles' imperial coronation in 875. It was presumably in Rome or in papal care in the eleventh century since an oath of fealty taken by the Norman duke Robert Guiscard to Pope Gregory VII in 1080 was recorded in the volume.²⁹ It has been suggested, moreover, that Gregory VII himself may have entrusted the keeping of the manuscript to the abbey of San Paolo, a house that he had once administered.³⁰ The appearance of *tituli* of the San Paolo Bible in San Pietro A.1 nevertheless suggests a possible connection with the papal curia in its commission, or perhaps even an origin for the San Pietro Bible in a scriptorium that was near the location of the San Paolo Bible. One thing seems certain: the center in which the San Pietro Bible was produced had at its disposal considerable resources and an extensive collection of manuscripts that served as exemplars for exegetical works and canonical collections as well as texts of the Vulgate and Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis*.

Returning to the figurative dimensions of the frontispieces to Genesis in the Italian Giant Bibles, it can now be argued that the increased naturalism and pictorial renewal that distinguishes the Creation cycle of the Perugia Bible (Fig. 11) from that of the Palatine Bible (Fig. 10) followed at a closer interval than previously thought. For E. B. Garrison the miniature style represented by the Creation cycle of the Perugia Bible postdated the illustrative campaigns of the Santa Cecilia Bible and

the Pantheon Bible (Fig. 12; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 12958), but this chronology now seems unlikely.³¹ Rather than placing the miniatures of the Perugia Bible late in the artistic developments of the Italian Giant Bibles, the initial styles of the manuscript suggest that the Perugia Bible was produced before the Santa Cecilia Bible and hence before the Pantheon Bible. An attribution of the Perugia Bible to the late eleventh or early twelfth century may also explain some apparent similarities between the style of the figure of St. Peter on its dedication page and that found in Roman wall paintings of the Romanesque period.³² In the production of his robust version of the "damp fold" style which incorporates expressions of youthful, benign dignity, the painter of the Creation cycle of the Perugia Bible seems to have turned to the authority of ancient classicizing legacies as well as to Byzantine or Byzantinizing

³¹Garrison, *Studies*, IV (1960–62), 118 ff, 202; Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, 287 f.

³²A comparison between the figure of St. Peter on the dedication page of the Perugia Bible (Toesca, "Miniature romane," pl. xi, 2; Garrison, *Studies*, IV [1960–62], fig. 116) and that of St. Paul baptizing in the wall painting in the oratory of S. Pudenziana, Rome (J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, IV, 3rd ed. [Freiburg, 1924], pl. 236 and G. Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, II [Rome, 1966], 22–23, fig. 10), draws attention to the arguments of art historians who favor a date for the S. Pudenziana paintings earlier than that proposed by Garrison (*Studies*, II [1955–56], 21 ff). See the observations of Demus (*Romanesque Mural Painting* [New York, 1968], 301) who perceives connections between the workshops active at S. Pudenziana and Castel S. Elia near Nepi. By pointing out stylistic analogies with examples of book illumination at Monte Cassino in the time of Abbot Desiderius, Hoegger likewise questions Garrison's dating of the S. Pudenziana paintings to the second quarter of the 12th century; Hoegger, *Fresken* (above, note 20), 135 ff. Authorities remain divided on the importance of Monte Cassino for the artistic revival in Rome in the late 11th century (cf. Demus, op. cit., 83 ff; G. Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei im 11. Jahrhundert," *JbKSWien*, N.F., 5 [1931], 47, 65–66; Hoegger, *Fresken*; H. Toubert, "Rome et le Mont-Cassin: Nouvelles remarques sur les fresques de l'église inférieure de Saint-Clément de Rome," *DOP* 30 [1976], 3 ff; Kitzinger, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 641 ff); B. Brenk, "Die Benediktuszenen in S. Crisogono und Montecassino," *Arte medievale* 2 (1984), 57 ff. Pertinent to the discussion of the question of the transmission of Byzantinizing forms to Roman workshops by way of Monte Cassino is the miniature style found in the dedication scene on fol. 157r of the Codex Benedictus. Several clerics are represented cloaked in garments shining with "electric highlights," highlights that sit on the surface in triangular patterns; P. Mayo and P. Meyvaert, "The Illustrations, Captions and Full-Page Initials of the Codex Benedictus," *The Codex Benedictus: An Eleventh-Century Lectionary from Monte Cassino*, comm. vol. (New York, 1982), 86. For a review of techniques of highlighting as imparted by Byzantine art to ateliers active in Italy in the earlier Middle Ages, see H. Belting, "Byzantine Art among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy," *DOP* 28 (1974), 10 ff.

²⁸The earlier scholarship on this volume is reviewed by P. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmäler der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, I (Munich, 1962), 136–37. See also the contributions of J. Gaehde, "The Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome: Its Date and Its Relation to Charles the Bald," *Gesta* 5 (1966), 9 ff; F. Mutherich and J. E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (New York, 1976), 27–28; V. Jemolo and M. Morelli, *La Bibbia di S. Paolo fuori le mura*, exhibition catalogue (Rome, 1981), 11 ff; B. Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1985), 412 f.

²⁹Schramm and Mutherich, *ibid.*, 136; Mutherich and Gaehde, *ibid.*, 28.

³⁰Brieger, "Bible Illustration" (above, note 4), 162.

sources.³³ In contrast to the figurative renderings by the Creation Master of the Perugia Bible, some illuminators of the Santa Cecilia Bible, by their dramatic use of cloisonné highlights, enlarged upon the Byzantinizing frame of reference.

The ornamental initials and miniatures of the Perugia Bible relate not only to the tradition of the Italian Giant Bibles as represented by the Palatine Bible but also to the mission of a great Italian Romanesque "export" scriptorium which provided a variety of books for distribution within and beyond the boundaries of the Italian peninsula. The ornamental vocabulary of the Giant Bibles was likewise applied to manuscripts of works of the church fathers and canonical collections which issued from the same milieu.³⁴ Much work, therefore, remains to be done in establishing the point of origin of this scriptorium, the nature of the patronage and program that stood behind it, and the source or sources of the many models and exemplars available to it.

Whereas these observations on the genealogy

of the *bianchi girari* assist in charting the chronology of the Italian Giant Bibles and related manuscripts, the study of ornamental initials also touches on another matter central to Romanesque manuscript illumination and the Gregorian Reform in Italy. The initial styles of the Italian Giant Bibles were inspired and ultimately derived from Carolingian and Ottonian models. They draw attention to the reform initiatives of transalpine Europe which anticipated those of the reform papacy and signal that the cultural horizons of Latin Christendom had been expanded and enriched during the Carolingian and Ottonian dynasties. During the Gregorian era the ecclesiastical reformers in Italy not only required copies of the Vulgate and writings of the church fathers but, in their program of renewal, also turned to the works of Hrabanus Maurus, Amalarius of Metz, and Burchard of Worms, among others. With these spiritual legacies in hand, the Gregorian era saw the Church claim a new position of moral leadership in European affairs, and the international dimensions of its mission were confirmed by the success of the First Crusade. In this light the decorative campaign of the Perugia Bible, which united Carolingian and Ottonian artistic legacies with an Italian renewal of representational and pictorial values, discloses an internationality of sources and outlook, as if to mirror the historical forces at work in fostering spiritual unification within Western Christendom during the era of reform.

University of California, Santa Barbara

³³ For the "damp fold" style in Romanesque painting, see W. Koehler, "Byzantine Art in the West," *DOP* 1 (1941), 61 ff; E. Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *DOP* 20 (1966), 37 ff; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970), 111 ff.

³⁴ For the migration of such volumes to northern Europe, see, for example, a copy of St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei* which belonged to St. Martial at Limoges by the late 11th or early 12th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 2056). The "A" initial on fol. 138r of lat. 2056 displays rinceau patterns of the same mold as those in the Vienna Hrabanus Maurus (Cod. 908); cf. Avril and Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés*, I, 31, no. 55, pl. xvi.